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THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

OCTOBER 1956 -- DECEMBER 1956

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the major issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

During the period covered by this monograph, the publications of the Communist Party, USA, have devoted considerable space to articles prepared in connection with the discussion which is now in progress among its members. In these articles, a wide range of opinions has been expressed regarding the tactical and organizational changes which should be adopted by the Party in an effort to increase its influence. In view of the wide variety of opinions expressed during this discussion, no attempt has been made to incorporate a sampling of these views in this issue of The Communist Party Line.

In addition, some recent developments in international relations, particularly those in which the Soviet Union has been directly involved, have produced different reactions among the leaders and members of the

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Communist Party, USA. In the Party's own admission, the discussion over these issues has been, at times, "emotional and impassioned."* The opinions of Party leaders which are at variance with the position taken by the Party on these issues have been indicated, but not incorporated, in this monograph.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

*Daily Worker, November 23, 1956, p. 5.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, repeated its appeals for an end to the cold war as a prerequisite for an era of peaceful coexistence and competition between capitalism and socialism. The United States was criticized for failing to take further steps toward disarmament, and the Party intensified its demands for an end to the testing of nuclear weapons. Considerable emphasis was placed on the necessity for another Geneva Conference to relieve the international tensions which developed during the past three months.

Great Britain and France were condemned unequivocally for invading Egypt, and Israel was reprimanded for acting as their agent. The United States was charged with a "heavy responsibility" for the crisis which this action precipitated. The Party extended its "heartfelt solidarity" to the present Polish Government and expressed approval of its "independent" path to socialism. After considerable discussion, the Party finally confessed that the appeal of the Hungarian Government for Soviet troops to suppress the uprising in Hungary was a "tragic error," for which the Soviet Union also shared responsibility. At the same time, however, the Party claimed that additional information would be required before a "final judgment" could be formulated on this issue.

The Party interpreted the re-election of President Dwight D. Eisenhower as a "serious setback" to the labor movement. The failure of the Republican Party to gain control of Congress was offered as proof that the American public distrusts the "main party of big business." Party propaganda reiterated the claims that the Communist Party, USA, advocates a "peaceful" and an "American" road to socialism. The Party also continued to call for the eventual establishment of a new socialist coalition. An expanded program of social welfare was proposed. Legal action against the Communist Party, USA, was viewed as causing "grave damage" to the Bill of Rights and as contributing to the "erosion" of civil liberties.

Party propaganda urged a reduction in the work week as the best method of coping with rising unemployment. The American labor movement was urged to increase its political activity in order to defend itself against the "Cadillac Cabinet and a Dixiecrat-Republican alliance in Congress." The need for the eventual organization of a labor-farmer political party was also stressed. The use of the Taft-Hartley Law in connection with the maritime strike was cited as evidence of the "antilabor" policies of the Republican Administration. The Party reaffirmed its view that the merger of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial

Organizations (CIO) into the AFL-CIO represented a significant development in the history of the American labor movement. It urged the AFL-CIO to admit the "progressive-led" unions* and to initiate an extensive drive to organize the unorganized workers.

The "revolution" against imperialism was interpreted by the Party as evidence of the continued decline of colonialism. The United States was criticized for supporting the colonial policies of Great Britain and France, while the Soviet Union was praised for its support of the right of self-determination for all nations.

The Party continued its demands for the repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Walter-McCarran Act, and the Taft-Hartley Law. Congressional investigating committees were accused of fostering a "fascist-like atmosphere," and confidential informants were accused of perjuring themselves over a period of years. The Party urged widespread support for proposals to change the rules under which the United States Senate is governed so that filibusters will no longer be permitted and so that promotions will no longer be based solely on seniority.

The Party continued its appeals for substantial reductions in appropriations for national defense so that a large-scale program of public

*This refers to those unions which were expelled from the CIO during 1949 and 1950 as communist dominated.

welfare could be initiated. It also called for the return of all troops in foreign countries to their own nations.

The Party described civil rights as "the foremost domestic issue of the day," and called on the Federal Government to intervene to guarantee Negroes equal rights in the Southern States. Both major political parties were accused of evading the issue of desegregation in public schools during the election campaign. The tactic of "passive resistance," as typified by the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, was hailed as a new and effective weapon in the fight for civil rights. The Federal Government was urged to prosecute members of the Ku Klux Klan* and the White Citizens' Councils.

Increased Federal aid was urged by the Party to alleviate the shortage of schools and teachers. The closing of the Jefferson School of Social Science,* allegedly because of "McCarranite-McCarthyite hysteria," was deplored.

Issues affecting farmers, women, and youth received only passing attention. The agricultural program of the Republican Administration was criticized as inflationary. Socialism was offered as the only effective

*The Ku Klux Klan and the Jefferson School of Social Science have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

solution to the problems faced by women. Juvenile delinquency was traced to the "fact" that our society is "geared to violence and destruction," and the Party interpreted the recent Olympic Games as evidence of the desire of the youth of the world for peace.

B. Conclusions

1. The reappraisal of Stalin, the disclosure of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, and the use of Soviet troops to quell the rebellion in Hungary have produced varied reactions among the leaders and members of the Communist Party, USA. While the differences of opinion on these issues are deep, they are not necessarily irreconcilable. Thus far, every effort has been made to reconcile these differences in order to preserve Party unity. Therefore, while there may be some reduction in Party membership, there is no prospect for the complete disintegration of the Party.
2. In recent months there has been considerable discussion within the Party over proposals to change the Party's name and to transform it into a political action organization. However, no major changes in the Party's organizational structure are anticipated prior to the national convention, now scheduled to be held in February, 1957, particularly since Party leaders have not completed plans for the organization of another group to succeed the Communist Party, USA.
3. Should the Party, as a tactical maneuver, change its name and amend its constitution, there is no evidence to indicate that it will change its ultimate goal, the establishment of a communist government in the United States by any effective means, legal or illegal.
4. The eventual establishment of a broad, new socialist coalition has been stressed by the Party in recent months.

Party leaders are, therefore, expected to continue their participation in public and private discussions with representatives of other socialist-oriented groups which, for ideological or other reasons, are not prepared to join forces with the Party at the present time.

5. The Communist Party, USA, is doing everything possible in an effort to refute the charge that it is an agent of a foreign power. It is, therefore, expected that Party propaganda will place greater stress on the claims that the Party advocates a "peaceful" and an "American" road to socialism.
6. If the United States Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the membership clause of the Smith Act, the Party would find it almost impossible to continue to operate as at present. It is, therefore, anticipated that Party propaganda calling for the repeal of these laws will be intensified.
7. The principal immediate objective of the Party is to emerge from the isolated position in which it now finds itself. It is, therefore, anticipated that the Party will stress those social, political, and economic issues which enjoy widespread popular appeal, while minimizing its ideological and tactical differences with noncommunists.

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I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The cold war is responsible for most of the "hardships and difficulties everywhere."
2. The world is entering into a period in which the possibility of the peaceful coexistence and competition between capitalism and socialism is increasing.
3. The testing of nuclear weapons should be discontinued as the first step toward the outlawing of these weapons.
4. The United States is refusing to take any steps toward further disarmament.
5. Another conference of the "Big Four," together with India, is urgently needed to relieve the international tensions which have arisen in recent months.
6. The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 inaugurated "a new era in human society."
7. The foreign aid offered to other nations by our country is designed solely to promote American interests.
8. The United States should extend diplomatic recognition to Communist China.
9. Increased cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union is required to end the crisis over the Suez Canal.
10. The present Government of Poland has adopted an "independent" path toward socialism.
11. Future relations between the Soviet Union and the European communist nations should be based on the principles of full equality and independence.

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12. The appeal of the Hungarian Government for Soviet troops to suppress the uprising in Hungary was a "tragic error" for which the Soviet Union shared responsibility. However, there is still insufficient information available to arrive at a "final judgment."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The Cold War

"What the world needs is further relaxation of the Cold War and not a halt to whatever relaxation has already taken place. It is the Cold War tensions of the past eight or nine years that have helped create hardships and difficulties everywhere...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 5, 1956, p. 5.

"...The American people want to hear proposals that will end the cold war and not proposals on how to win the cold war...."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Impending Elections," Political Affairs, October, 1956, p. 8.

2. Peaceful Coexistence and Competition

"...We are entering into a period where the possibility of war is diminishing and an era of peaceful coexistence between capitalism and Socialism is foreseeable. The competition between the two systems will increasingly center around the economic, scientific, cultural and democratic aspects of life. The system which proves in practice it can best lead the people to these goals will win their allegiance."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Impending Elections," Political Affairs, October, 1956, pp. 6-7.

"...the popular mood which has evolved since the conference at Geneva...is a mood of eagerness to consummate the promise of peaceful co-existence by breaking the stalemate of foreign policy..."

Max Weiss, "Notes of the Month,"
Political Affairs, November, 1956,
p. 4.

3. Outlawing Nuclear Weapons

"THERE SHOULD be no mistake about it--the proposal to ban H-bomb tests has put the central issue of foreign policy into the middle of this election campaign. The debate on H-bomb testing and on ending the draft throws light on the big question of world politics today.

"If the fight for peaceful coexistence was the basic issue of the post-war decade, today the realistic need is ending the cold war; thus, making this the era of lasting peace. As long as the shadow of nuclear destruction hangs over us peace is incomplete. Banning the tests will be an enormous step toward lasting peace."

Daily Worker,
October 10, 1956, p. 5.

"...a halt to the test explosions can lead to a chain of events bringing disarmament closer and complete ban of all Hellbombs under strict international inspection and control."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 5, 1956, p. 5.

"The proposal to stop the poisoning of the world's atmosphere by H-bomb tests far transcends a political campaign. As the scientists who

are equipped to answer this question have said--the health of the living and also of generations still unborn are periled by the continuation of the tests."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 17, 1956, p. 1.

"And as for Eisenhower's argument that we can't allow the Russians to get ahead of us the stark fact is that we now have enough bombs to blast Russia and the Russians have enough bombs to blast America practically off the face of the earth."

"The H-bomb issue far transcends politics. The fall-out poisons Democrats, Republicans and Communists alike. The world that would perish in a hydrogen bomb war is the world in which all of us live. The fight to ban H-bomb tests is the first great step in the fight to banish the Hell bombs everywhere."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 26, 1956, pp. 5, 7.

"Eisenhower says this will give the Russians an advantage. But the Russians have officially proposed to us that we both agree to stop the tests.... As has been noted again and again, if any country explodes an H-bomb, it can be detected instantaneously. The White House itself has made that clear time and again."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 4, 1956, p. 5.

"DISARMAMENT and banning the Hell Bombs are not dead issues. The debate that began during our election campaign on banning tests of H-bombs will figure once more in United Nations discussions. Just because the elections are over doesn't mean that the danger of fall-out has disappeared...."

Daily Worker,
November 12, 1956, p. 5.

4. Disarmament

"UN PROGRESS on the disarmament question clearly requires further negotiations among the major powers. The Soviet proposals made last week for a summit parley on disarmament further narrowed the gulf between East and West. Thus, the Eisenhower aerial inspection plan has been considered an unbridgeable difference between us and the Soviets. But in its statement the Soviet government accepted the idea of aterial surveys on an area extending about 500 miles each side of the division between NATO*and the Warsaw pact forces. While it has been argued that 500 miles is not enough this Soviet concession obviously opens the way to further negotiations."

The Worker,
November 25, 1956, p. 2.

"The Eisenhower-Nixon position, on the other hand, blocks any further advances toward disarmament or ending the cold war. It makes a continued armaments race inevitable, with all its inherent dangers of a nuclear war."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 18, 1956, p. 5.

*This refers to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

5. New Summit Conference

"Geneva presented an agreement among the great powers that all differences among them were to be resolved by negotiations instead of force. For the world's millions, weary of cold-war tensions and alarms, the first summit meeting opened the perspective of ending the cold war and making peaceful coexistence and competition the normal way of life between capitalist U.S.A. and socialist USSR, as well as among all other nations."

The Worker,
November 18, 1956, p. 13.

"Both in Eastern Europe and the Middle East peaceful co-existence is being threatened. This is a time for sober reflection but also for quick action. It is a moment for a meeting between President Eisenhower and Premier Bulganin and the heads of the British and French governments."

"The main thing in our view is positive action for peace. That is why a Big Four conference should be held as soon as humanly possible....

"...Guns that are roaring must be silenced everywhere. The world needs a new Geneva, a new summit conference. Our country should take such an initiative immediately. Thus we protect America's security and world peace."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 5, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

"It is in this respect that the Swiss government's proposal for a new summit conference, including Britain, France, the USSR and India has aroused so much hope. So far only President Eisenhower has

refused to agree to such a conference. But isn't there a great possibility that the events preceding Geneva last year can be repeated? Public opinion will again be decisive."

The Worker,
November 18, 1956, p. 13.

6. Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

"HUNDREDS of millions of people throughout the world will be celebrating today the 39th anniversary of the founding of the first socialist land, the USSR.

"They will be celebrating the fact that on Nov. 7 a new era in human society was inaugurated, one that will eventually eliminate all exploitation, war, oppression, that will one day lift the human spirit beyond the limits imposed upon it up to now by dog-eat-dog societies.

"In spite of its initial backwardness and its isolation in a hostile world dominated by a few powerful imperialist nations, the Soviet Union rapidly developed its economic and political strength. Its very existence made possible the great revolutionary movements which liberated a billion people from imperialist bondage in the last decade."

"Today, socialism has come to stay, and we have no doubt that eventually the peoples of all lands, including our own, will replace their outworn capitalist systems with it. This will be done, as the great founder of the Soviet Union, V. I. Lenin, emphasized, in conformity with the experience and will of the people of each nation.

"This is the first Soviet anniversary since the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress and the Khrushchev revelations regarding the years of Stalin misrule. These revealed that in the course of building socialism there had been terrible distortions both of the democratic process within the USSR and of the relations between the USSR and other Communist movements, including those in Eastern Europe which had state power.

"The Soviet Union has set about correcting many of these distortions. We believe, however, that it would be naive not to recognize that the patterns of Stalin misrule were made possible by profound historic conditions arising out of the original backwardness of Russia under the czars, the immense pressures of a hostile world upon the young socialist country, etc. If this be true, then the process of correction is of necessity a long and painful one.

"We believe the USSR has made immense progress under socialism. We believe it has made and will continue to make great contributions to the freedom, peace and progress of human society. We believe it has proved the validity of scientific socialism as developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 7, 1956, p. 5.

7. Foreign Aid

"WHAT STRANGE meaning words have for General Eisenhower's State Department. 'Independence' of foreign control really means subservience to the U. S. State Department. The decision to give aid to Yugoslavia is a case in point."

"This latest incident only points up the motives behind the aid given to Yugoslavia from this country ever since 1948. It was not given to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. Nor was it given to help heal the conflicts in the Balkans. On the contrary it was part of a calculated effort to maintain the antagonism.

". . . the Administration gives aid in order to establish a satellite status for the recipients of aid."

"Not only Communist-led countries, like Yugoslav,* have objected to the Administration strings attached to aid. India, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, and for that matter most Asian and Middle East countries have been repelled by this policy."

Daily Worker,
October 19, 1956, p. 5.

8. Recognition of Communist China

"FROM CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung and Prime Minister Chou En-lai of China have some** statements seeking better relations with the U. S."

"There is obviously no future to a policy which refuses to recognize the existence of one quarter of the human race."

"Nor does it benefit America's national interests to allow Britain, France, Italy and our other allies to build up trade with China while we continue to cut off our noses to spite our faces, in respect to trade."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 29, 1956, p. 5.

"And we think it's high time not only to lift the embargo on news coverage, in China but also on trade and travel and cultural exchange. How long will Americans allow Washington to cut off this nation's nose to spite its face?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 28, 1956, p. 5.

*This probably should read "Yugoslavia."

**This probably should read "have come."

9. Suez Crisis*

"The brutal British and French aggression against Egypt has shocked and alarmed the world. In flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, London and Paris have moved to seize the Suez Canal, overthrow the Nasser government and subject Egypt to their domination under a quisling ruler of their choice. The bombs falling on Cairo and other Egyptian cities are the most serious threat to peace since the Korean war.

"An immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egyptian soil, as requested in the resolution voted overwhelmingly by the General Assembly of the United Nations, is the urgent need of the hour. This should be followed by determined international efforts to resolve the Suez Canal problem and the Arab-Israel conflict on a basis that serves the interests of all nations and safeguards world peace.

"Israel's partnership in this aggression can only bring disaster to the hard-pressed people of that country. It is true that for years Israel has been the target of border raids, war threats and economic blockade by Egypt and other Arab states. We Communists have condemned and continue to condemn these acts and policies, which have taken a heavy toll of life and inflicted great damage not only on Israel but on the Arab peoples themselves.

"At the same time, these provocations cannot justify a war of aggression in which Israel acts as the tool of the former oppressors of Palestine and the present oppressors of Cyprus and Africa...."

*An article by Edward Strong, one of the Party's Negro leaders, which strongly dissented from the views expressed in the quotation cited to illustrate the Party's position on this issue, appeared in the November 22, 1956, issue of the Daily Worker.

"The attack on Egypt is thus directed at the independence of all the Middle Eastern nations, including Israel, and at the anti-colonial liberation movements of Asia and Africa...."

"The Eisenhower Administration, despite its efforts to wash its hands of the brutal aggression launched by its two principal allies, bears a heavy responsibility for the present crisis. It was Dulles who touched off the crisis over the Suez by his sudden and arrogant withdrawal of pro-offered aid to Egypt for construction of the Aswan Dam...."

"Belatedly the Administration now seeks to extinguish the fires which Dulles' brinkmanship helped ignite. It is good that the United States and the Soviet Union have moved along parallel lines in their efforts to halt hostilities."

"Much more is needed than parallel action with the Soviet Union. There should be active consultation and cooperation between the two great powers, together with India and other peace - seeking governments, to implement the UN resolution and end the Middle Eastern war before it gets out of hand."

"Let the voice of the American people also be heard. Send protests to the British and French embassies in Washington. Urge our government to take concrete steps to carry out the UN resolution. Stop the criminal bombing of Egyptian cities. End the shooting and withdraw all foreign forces from Egyptian territory. Halt Arab raids on Israel and guarantee that nation's borders and rights, including the right to use the Suez Canal."

Daily Worker,
November 6, 1956, pp. 4, 5.

"...A permanent solution of the Middle East crisis still lies ahead. This requires a guarantee of Egyptian sovereignty over the Suez canal, at the same time that the rights of all to free navigation are established. It also requires an Arab-Israeli settlement, and that means bringing both sides around the same table through the UN.

"Such aims can be attained when America and the Soviet Union are on the same side--for peace."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 5, 1956, p. 5.

10. New Polish Government

"EVENTS show that the Polish government, the Polish Communists and the indomitable Polish working class are advancing the democratization and independence of their socialist regime. The dropping of the slanderous accusations against Wladyslaw Gomulka was a vindication of justice and socialist principles. He was the champion of the independent Polish path to socialism. Today, after four years in jail he is back in the leadership of his party."

"POLAND'S independent course is not an anti-Soviet course, as the entire leadership of the Polish party has reaffirmed. They know that the liberation of Poland from Hitlerism became possible as a result of the Soviet defeat of German fascism. They also know that Polish security from any future German Wehrmacht rests on friendly relations with its big socialist neighbor, the USSR."

"Top-level discussions have taken place between the Polish and Soviet Communist leaders. That differences exist is clearly indicated, but

there are far too few facts on the exact nature of those differences. We uphold the right of all Communist parties to criticize or appraise in a friendly manner, developments in other parties. But such relations require absolutely no interference in the internal affairs of other parties and countries."

"WE STRONGLY condemn the efforts of the Eisenhower administration to utilize this situation to bring about conflict, instead of peace, and to work for the overthrow of the Polish government. This is typical of how big business has always viewed relations with Poland.... But the Polish people have done forever with landlords and big capitalists. They are not now embarked on any retreat from socialism. They are strengthening it to the greatest degree by firmly establishing the democratic foundations of socialism.

". . . The interference of the administration could only block the democratization and liberalization which proceeds so inexorably in Poland. In this respect Washington really bases itself not on the Polish workers and peasants but on those in Poland who would try to use the liberalization in order to restroe the old reactionary regime."

". . . The hopes of the Eisenhower administration to stir dissension will, we are confident, be frustrated by the historic events now unfolding. And fortunately so, for the security and peace of our own country.

"To the working people of Poland we extend our heartfelt solidarity. Our hand is stretched out to them as they work to reinforce the grand democratic traditions of socialism, justice and equality."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 22, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

11. Soviet-Satellite Relations

"THERE IS MUCH to welcome in the statement of the Soviet government on relations with the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe.

"The U. S. S. R. is now ready to discuss the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, Hungary and Rumania and Soviet advisers from all of the People's Democracies.

"In announcing this far-reaching change, the Soviet government is compelled to admit that 'in the process of the establishment of the new regimes and the deep revolutionary transformation in social relations (in Eastern Europe after the war) there were not a few difficulties, unsolved problems and downright mistakes, including those in the relations between the Socialist states, violations and mistakes which infringed the principles of equality in relations between Socialist states.'

"The Soviet government also declares that the mistakes in relations among the Socialist states were 'resolutely condemned' at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, and speaks of the upheaval by the Hungarian people for democratization as a 'just and progressive movement of the working people.'

"The tragedy has been the slowness to carry out any change of policy since the 20th Congress--not to mention the lapses back into the old Stalinist relations as in the ill-fated Rokossofsky affair in Poland and the events in Hungary....

"It is unfortunate that the Soviet government did not take the needed steps before recent events--if it had, the serious set-back to the cause of socialism might have been avoided. It is to be hoped that the discussions of the 20th Congress--which were only a beginning at de-Stalinization--will now be gone into much more deeply in the Soviet Union and the necessary conclusions drawn without delay.

"This is needed to give full substance to the declaration of principles in the Soviet government's statement: 'United by the common

ideal of building a Socialist society and the principles of proletarian internationalism, the countries of the great commonwealth of Socialist nations can build their relations only on the principle of full equality, respect of territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another. ""

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 1, 1956, p. 5.

12. Hungarian Rebellion*

"Our party's National Committee, meeting in enlarged session last week, considered the recent tragic events in Hungary, their impact on our country, on world peace and on the further development of socialism.

"The National Committee states frankly that, like the party membership as a whole, it finds itself confronted with complex problems of an unprecedented nature. It is therefore not surprising that while we have a common view on many questions we also have differences of opinion. These areas of difference will be resolved on the basis of further discussion by the whole party, as we acquire more facts and a deeper understanding of these events."

*The statement selected to illustrate the position of the Communist Party, USA, on the rebellion in Hungary represents a compromise of the divergent opinions of Party leaders regarding this issue. It supersedes a previous statement by the Party's national committee which was issued on November 2, 1956, and which appeared in the November 5, 1956, issue of the Daily Worker. The statement cited above criticized the statement issued on November 2, 1956, as "inadequate." It also criticized an editorial on this question which appeared in the November 5, 1956, issue of the Daily Worker for taking a stand on this issue prematurely. While the statement cited above represents a compromise of the views of Party leaders, strong dissenting opinions were subsequently issued by Party Chairman William Z. Foster (Daily Worker, November 21, 1956) and General Secretary Eugene Dennis (Daily Worker, November 29, 1956). An editorial which appeared in the November 26, 1956, issue of the Daily Worker explained that "we do not 'equate' the events in Hungary with the imperialist invasion of Egypt."

"... we are deeply disturbed by the events in Hungary. We are deeply grieved at the bloodshed and destruction in Hungary and are profoundly concerned with the causes and meaning of these events for socialism--as are all party members and other socialist-minded Americans."

"... There is general agreement in the national committee in the analysis of the situation prior to Nov. 4, but divergent views on subsequent developments and conclusions to be drawn from them. The great upheavals in Poland and Hungary were initially and primarily popular upsurges for democratization, for a solution to their economic problems, and for full national sovereignty and equality in their relations with the Soviet Union.

"As a result of the distortions of Socialist policy during the latter years of Stalin's regime and the pressure exerted on the People's Democracies the Communist Parties of these countries had mechanically followed the experiences of the Soviet Union instead of independently developing policies based fully on the national political and economic requirements of their own peoples.

"These wrong policies, aggravated by the stringencies of the cold war, led to the deterioration of economic conditions instead of the improvements that the people had expected from a Socialist society. They led to the imposition of bureaucratic rule, the violation of socialist democracy, the jailing and even execution of leaders of the people, including leading Communists. They resulted in denying participation in the political life of the countries to parties and personalities that represented large sections of the population. They resulted in infringements upon the sovereignty and independence of these nations.

"The 20th Congress of the CPSU recognized the need for correction by calling for an end to the Stalin 'cult of the individual'; for the development of democratic procedures; for equality amongst Socialist nations and Communist parties; for the need and right of each nation to chart its own road to Socialism.

"...However, in our opinion the implementation of the decisions of the 20th Congress was not resolutely carried forward with respect to the other Socialist nations. It is apparent in the light of recent developments in Poland and Hungary that the implementation met with considerable resistance within the CPSU and other Parties.

"Meanwhile, the demands for change in accordance with the promises of the 20th Congress were growing especially in Poland and Hungary.

"The Communist Party of Poland, responsive to the demands of its people, pressed with great determination and courage to correct the wrongs in their country. Such a policy is winning the confidence of the Polish working class and people and the most heartfelt support of Communists and other Socialist-minded people the world over.

"The Hungarian Communist Party, on the other hand, did not grasp in time the need for deep-going changes. Instead they resisted taking the necessary corrective measures. At the last moment, when the Hungarian masses rose in demonstration, they against* resorted to repression. The Oct. 24 decision of the Gero government to call upon Soviet troops stationed in Hungary to put down the initial popular demonstrations inflamed the situation to a grave crisis. This was a tragic error for which the Soviet Union must also take responsibility. It disclosed the failure of a policy which was not based securely upon the national needs and sentiments of the working class and popular masses in Hungary."

"These grave errors facilitated the open intervention of the forces of reaction within Hungary from abroad. From the beginning, strenuous efforts were made by the Western powers through U. S. -financed Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, Project X and other agencies to utilize this crisis for their own imperialist aims and to encourage reactionary and fascist elements to take over the situation.

*This probably should read "again."

"The role and influence of the reactionary elements within Hungary were bolstered by an influx of exiled fascists, interventionists and agents of Project X across the Austrian border. The Nagy government, retreating before reactionary pressures, lost its capacity to govern and was unable to halt the lynchings, anti-Semitic outbreaks and reign of terror against Communists and progressives.

"From these facts it appears that the Soviet Union decided on the large scale use of troops on Nov. 4 to head off the White Terror and what it considered to be the danger of the formation of an anti-Soviet, Horthy-like regime on its borders, which would threaten not only the security of the USSR and other Socialist countries but world peace as well. It should be borne in mind that the Soviet troops, who had liberated Hungary during the anti-Hitler war were stationed in that country not only under the Warsaw Pact, but also in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement.

"We do not seek to justify the use of Soviet troops in Hungary's internal crisis on Nov. 4. Neither do we join in the condemnation of these actions. Was there no alternative? Was it a grim necessity? There are no ready answers and we are in no position to give final judgment on the Soviet action. On this there are different viewpoints in the national committee and in the Party. With the unfolding of events further clarity on this point will be achieved."

"In any case the use of troops by the Soviet Union in Hungary cannot, of course, solve the basic problems involved. Within Hungary the solution lies in correcting the mistakes of the past, in carrying through in practice the program announced by the Kadar government and in developing a broader government based on the needs and desires of the Hungarian people. We welcome all efforts in that direction."

"It is of the utmost importance that we American Communists do not confine ourselves to evaluating events abroad but give serious thought to the harmful role that our State Department has played in these developments.

Thereby we will help provide the American workers with a greater understanding of what they can do to influence U. S. foreign policy in accord with the peace aspirations of our people."

"We call for the ending of such instruments of subversion and incitement as Radio Free Europe, Project X of the Central Intelligence Agency, and other similar agencies."

"We urge widespread support of the efforts by relief agencies cooperating with the UN and the Hungarian government to assist the people of Hungary. We also propose that economic aid be voted by Congress, without strings, to Hungary, as well as other nations."

Daily Worker,
November 20, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. The Republican Administration has taken no action to reduce the cost of living.
2. There is still "mass impoverishment" in the United States.
3. Our present tax program "is shaped to favor the rich."
4. The Republican Administration has taken no action to reduce prices.
5. An expanded program of social welfare is needed.
6. The "erosion" of civil liberties in the United States still continues.
7. Attacks on the rights of communists have caused "grave damage to the Bill of Rights."
8. Communist activity in the 1956 elections was designed to promote "an anti-monopoly political realignment led by labor."
9. The re-election of President Dwight D. Eisenhower was a "serious setback" to the labor movement. However, the failure of the Republican Party to gain control of Congress indicated that the American public lacks confidence in "the main party of big business."
10. Greater "unity of the Left" would promote "peace, security and democracy."
11. The Communist Party, USA, advocates "an American path to socialism."
12. The Communist Party, USA, will continue its struggle for socialism.
13. The Communist Party, USA, advocates a peaceful, democratic road to socialism.
14. Robert Thompson, imprisoned communist leader, should be granted a medical pardon, and his benefits as a veteran should be restored.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Cost of Living

"THE COST of living rose for the fourth time in five months, jumping in October to a new record by half of one percent to almost 18 percent above pre-Korean war prices. The government's statisticians say the upward trend will continue.

"The disturbing world situation is contributing further to the trend with the invasion of Egypt causing a fuel crisis in Europe, already influencing a rise in fuel and gasoline prices and increasing profits for the oil sharks.

"The C. of L. index reflects already in part the upward movement in prices set off by the extortionate price hike on steel last summer. The new auto prices contributed heavily to the new rise of the index, bringing the cost of transportation to 11 percent of the average workers' family budget--equal to more than a third of the amount spent for food.

"The President has already said he doesn't think the government should do anything, and he even gave comfort to those who say wage increases are responsible...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 28, 1956, p. 5.

2. Standard of Living

"...in the United States, the boasted land of capitalist 'prosperity,' the workings of the law of mass impoverishment are to be seen. Notwithstanding the enormous productivity of the workers, over 10 per cent of American families are now existing upon incomes of less than \$1,000 per year, and more than one-half of the total number of families receive less than \$4,000 annually... At the very bottom levels of poverty are the Negro people, with their sub-normal standards regarding wages, jobs, civil rights, housing, etc...."

William Z. Foster, "Karl Marx and Mass Impoverishment," Political Affairs, November, 1956, pp. 33-34.

3. Taxes

"The inequity of the tax policy, as already mentioned, is reflected in our entire system of taxation which is framed with a view to transferring the chief burden of taxes from the people with the highest incomes to the people with very moderate and low incomes, from the multimillionaire and corporation magnates to the workers, farmers, and small businessmen."

"IF THE government were to enforce the law and collect this \$16.5 billion in taxes due from, but not paid by, wealthy individuals and corporations, the burden of taxation on the low and middle income groups could be substantially lower. Still greater reductions in the burden of taxation on these groups could be achieved by reforming our entire system of taxation which is shaped to favor the rich."

The Worker,
November 4, 1956, p. 10.

4. Prices

"The steel price hike last summer signaled a rash of price increases in numerous fields, forcing the sharpest monthly price increases on cost of living items in many years.

"The Eisenhower Administration has been silent on the price hike that followed the strike, and there is no word from Administration spokesmen on the new hike in the offing."

Daily Worker,
October 30, 1956, p. 3.

5. Expanded Program of Social Welfare

"The ending of the cold war is beginning to re-cast the outlook of the American people. The prospect of peaceful co-existence, the potentials of automation and the atomic age, the new strength of the organized labor and Negro people's movements--all have combined to nurture thoughts of new social advance....

"To move forward, America must take up where the New Deal left off.

"The New Deal ended with our entry into World War II...."

"This 15-year arrest of social reform has accumulated a tremendous backlog of unfulfilled social needs...."

Max Weiss, "Notes of the Month,"
Political Affairs, November, 1956,
pp. 5, 6.

6. Civil Liberties

"...although the atmosphere of McCarthyism is somewhat cleared and the hoopla surrounding it is in a lower key, the day-by-day erosion of our civil liberties continues amidst incredible pretense that everything is fine."

"Let us put our own house in order. The day is not yet come when we can justifiably proclaim to the world that civil liberty is securely, indivisibly guaranteed to all Americans."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 27, 1956, p. 5.

"To speak up now for a return to the Bill of Rights for all Americans is to help provide the climate in which the courts can undo, at least in part, the havoc played by the Vinson decision in 1951.* To

*This refers to the decision of the United States Supreme Court which upheld the conviction of eleven members of the national board of the Communist Party, USA, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

speak up now is to defend the best of America's priceless heritage of the democratic tradition."

The Worker,
October 7, 1956, p. 10.

"...end the witch-hunt of the last ten years, with its Congressional inquisitions, loyalty-security programs, and the inevitable system of faceless informers..."

Daily Worker,
October 2, 1956, p. 7.

7. Attacks on Communists

"It is true that Brownell can boast that he hurt the Communist Party. But Adolph Hitler made the same boast. In fact many of the Justice Department prosecutions had their origin in the infamous Nuremberg decrees.

"What Brownell would like the public to forget is that the anti-Communist witchhunts not only hurt the Communists but inevitably did grave damage to the Bill of Rights and to the entire political climate of the country.

"Brownell has nothing to boast of--except that he provided the legal framework for McCarthyism and betrayed his oath of office to uphold the Constitution."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 9, 1956, p. 5.

"Civil liberties are indivisible, the winds of freedom cannot be cajoled into blowing over one man's roof but not another's."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 30, 1956, p. 5.

8. Communist Role in 1956 Elections

"...We do not nor will we endorse any Party or candidate. However, we are not unmindful of the fact that labor and its allies are struggling to oust the Cadillac Cabinet of Eisenhower and Nixon.

"We associate ourselves with labor's objective...."

"Our Party in this campaign has no candidates of its own. The political repressions under which we still suffer and the discriminatory election laws make this impossible.

"Nor do we endorse any candidates or parties. We hold and shall continue to maintain a critical attitude towards all candidates and parties. But we stand with labor, the Negro people, the farmers, the small businessmen and the professionals. We support their fight for economic and social progress, for peace, for democratic rights and an end to all forms of discrimination and oppression against the Negro people and other minorities.

"...we developed a policy that put the main emphasis on movements and coalitions on issues which would be able, regardless of the outcome, to press forward after the elections; on associating ourselves with labor's struggle against the Cadillac Cabinet; on helping weaken the GOP-Dixiecrat grip on Congress; on strengthening the independent political action of labor and its allies, looking towards an anti-monopoly political realignment led by labor."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Impending Elections,"
Political Affairs, October, 1956, pp. 5, 13.

9. 1956 Election Results

"THE ELECTION Tuesday was extraordinary no matter how you look at it.

"...But certain facts stand out with unmistakable clarity. One of these is that while the people have been saddled once again with the Cadillac Cabinet, and Richard Nixon has moved a big step closer to the Presidency, the people made it plain that they oppose what these reactionary forces represent.

"The single outstanding result of the elections was, of course, the tremendous plurality for President Eisenhower, which is close to the FDR victory in 1936. This must be attributed not only to his personality and his record in the war against fascism, but especially to the fact that he is associated in the popular mind with the ending of the hated Korean War and with the Summit conference at Geneva. At the same time, there is no doubt that Eisenhower benefited from the fact of the highest employment figures in the country's history."

"...a remarkable feature of this campaign, unprecedented in political history, is that the Eisenhower avalanche was accompanied by a GOP defeat in its bid to control Congress.

"The failure of the GOP to win Congress is a dramatic sign of the lack of confidence the people maintain in the main party of big business--especially on economic matters. The Congress results are, in fact, a gain for the labor movement, which concentrated on these races, although labor suffered a serious setback through the inability to oust the Cadillac Cabinet."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 8, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

"Thus, despite the obstacles of the two party system, the American voters managed to fashion a mandate for peace, civil rights and social progress...."

"These results indicate that many voters look to the executive on the issue of peace but to Congress on economic and social questions. Their vote for Ike was a vote for peace, not for the reactionary domestic policies of the GOP...."

Albert E. Blumberg, "Notes on the Election Results," Political Affairs, December, 1956, pp. 6, 9.

10. New Socialist Coalition

"...we are confident that in the post-election struggles, there will be possible a much greater movement towards unity and collaboration of Left and socialist forces in the common endeavor to strengthen the struggle for peace, security and democracy, to speed a new political alignment, to enhance socialist participation in the people's movements."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Impending Elections," Political Affairs, October, 1956, p. 14.

"Finally we should expand our efforts to achieve a better understanding with other genuine socialist and Left forces, not permitting past differences on electoral strategy to stand in the way of joint and parallel action on the major issues. We should encourage a greater initiative on the part of socialist-minded elements for the common aim of strengthening the socialist component in the labor and people's coalition and advancing the process of socialist regroupment in our country."

Albert E. Blumberg, "Notes on the Election Results," Political Affairs, December, 1956, p. 13.

11. American Road to Socialism

"Socialism must open up the perspective of an end to any and all oppression. We stand for democratic socialism. We stand for an American path to socialism which will be unlike any other because our circumstances are different and because we must learn from the tragic mistakes of others."

Editorial, Daily Worker, October 30, 1956, p. 5.

"Friends of socialism will welcome, we hope, such earnestness of the Communist Party's firm intent to make major internal improvements and to make its views on the American path to socialism unequivocally clear to the American people."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 11, 1956, p. 5.

"But we believe, too, that such attitudes of uncritical idolatry which we formerly embraced toward the USSR were a violation of the spirit of scientific socialism.

"And we believe that while we American Marxists must view world socialist developments with profound sympathy in a fraternal spirit, our primary concern is with the experience, development and aspirations of the American workingclass and the American path to socialism."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 7, 1956, p. 5.

12. Future of the Communist Party, USA

"... Every previous socialist movement in America made its important contribution and then became a powerless sect..."

"The Communist Party has not only played a bigger part in shaping the labor movement and the social welfare side of the government than any of its predecessors. It is also the first such movement to be determined not to become a sect as the others did, but to re-examine every aspect of its policies, review all its mistakes and, far from disappearing, become a greater force for progress and socialism than ever.

"To what extent the Communist Party in its present discussions will actually achieve this goal, remains to be seen. But the Communist Party is unlikely to... give up the fight against monopoly capitalism and Eastlandism and for socialism...."

The Worker,
October 14, 1956, p. 6.

"This is a difficult period indeed, but we are confident that we have the resources within our organization to chart a path ahead that in time will enable us to overcome our isolation from the working class and the masses of American people and play a vital and honorable role in the affairs of our country."

Daily Worker,
October 25, 1956, p. 2.

13. Peaceful Road to Socialism

"THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION of the Communist Party, now before the members of that organization, will undoubtedly receive careful study from friends and foes of socialism alike.

"It is already clear from a first reading of this document that it contains important innovations registering the intention of Communists to improve greatly the democratic functioning of their party. Moreover, it records in language clear and unmistakable the will of American Communists to seek a 'peaceful, democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the American people within the developing constitutional process.'"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 11, 1956, p. 5.

14. The Case of Robert Thompson

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has answered the appeal of Mrs. Robert Thompson for the commutation of her husband's Smith Act prison term with the comment that the plea has been forwarded, 'as is usual,' to the Justice Department.

"We submit that the case of Thompson is not routine, and deserves better than routine treatment.

"Robert Thompson was a World War II hero. Malaria and tuberculosis ravaged his body as a result of his military service.

"His rewards from a grateful government have included imprisonment under the Smith Act; a brutal attack by a pro-fascist prison inmate that necessitated a brain operation and left him hovering between life and death, and, to top it, withdrawal of Thompson's disability pension."

"Surely justice and elementary decency dictate that Robert Thompson, winner of the Distinguished Service Cross for brave service to his country, shall be promptly granted a medical pardon and the opportunity to win his way back to health in a Veterans Hospital."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 24, 1956, p. 5.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Unemployment is rising.
2. The proposal that the work week should be reduced is gaining additional support.
3. The Republican Administration is continuing its attacks on the labor movement.
4. The labor movement should increase its political activity.
5. The goal of the labor movement should be the eventual organization of a labor-farmer political party.
6. Labor unity requires that the "progressive-led" unions be admitted into the AFL-CIO.
7. The labor movement should intensify its drive to organize the unorganized workers.
8. Collaboration between labor and management is "dangerous."
9. The labor movement should eliminate racketeering without expelling large numbers of union members.
10. Government intervention in the recent maritime strike is an indication of the "antilabor" policy of the Republican Administration.
11. Only socialism can solve the problems of the American workers.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Unemployment

"The situation in the coal fields points up to the most extreme degree, the trend generally in the production industries as technological developments, including automation or semi-automation, take their frightful toll of jobs. Statistics in auto, steel, railroad, maritime and other employment also show more production by fewer workers. In the past decade, while the government's production index shows a rise of nearly 50 percent, employment in manufacturing, mining and transportation showed a drop. And this in face of a rise of about eight million in the civilian labor force. People are shifting to the lower-wage non-productive and service fields, but automation and other technological changes are close on their heels."

The Worker,
October 14, 1956, pp. 3, 14.

2. Shorter Work Week

"The shorter workweek is becoming a REAL issue as union after union, including some of the most important in the country, are putting the demand on the agenda...."

"THE SHORTER workweek has become a crucial question--a job question--for the industrial workers. The 30-hour week is no longer just an agitation slogan. The amazing increase in productivity in the past several years and the consequences of automation and other technological developments has knocked out much of hesitancy or opposition to the shorter workweek in the labor movement. The recent AFL-CIO conference of economic experts and research directors of affiliates called especially on the shorter workweek, is a sign of the times...."

Daily Worker,
October 3, 1956, p. 5.

3. Republican Administration Is Pro-Big Business

"TWO current federal actions against labor should serve notice that the Cadillac Cabinet is out for blood. One is the indictment of 14 more leaders of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers on charges that they filed 'false' Taft-Hartley affidavits. The other is the government's determination to bring to the Supreme Court its charges that the United Automobile Workers Union--1,660,000 strong--spent funds 'illegally' in the recent election campaign.

"Both actions result from Big Business' desire to draw labor's political teeth, to rob America's 16,000,000 unionists of their first-class citizenship rights.

"THE indictment of Mine, Mill includes most of its executive board,

"It is an act of revenge by the Republican regime against a union that endorsed the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket and played an important role in the reverses the GOP sustained in the Rocky Mountain states....

"Concerning the UAW: Here we see the prosecution of the biggest union of the land because it too abhorred the Cadillac Cabinet regime."

"All in all, America witnesses the hollowness of President Eisenhower's pretensions of a 'modern Republicanism.' These two actions against labor should spur all AFL-CIO's members into prompt action to defend their vital political rights."

Editorial, The Worker,
November 25, 1956, p. 5.

4. Labor's Political Activity

"IF ANY unionist still needs convincing on the importance of pitching into labor's political action drive, they should read the outburst

by Cola G. Parker, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, before a crowd of Detroit businessmen....

"Labor's political action, as AFL-CIO president George Meany properly noted, is strictly limited to candidates of the two old parties. But even that is considered by Parker to be a 'power grab' threat....

"Parker is simply following up the drive begun by the Republicans months before the campaign, when their front man, Senator Goldwater of Arizona, challenged labor's right to engage in political action or even endorse candidates. His crowd is even sponsoring legislation to ban political action by unions....

"The NAMers squeal like stuck pigs because labor's increased participation in political action hurts them. What better argument do we need for still greater intensity in such activity?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 17, 1956, p. 5.

"A LOOK at the House and Senate should certainly dispel ideas that labor can now take it easy politically. The dominant influence is strongly anti-labor, just as it was in the 84th Congress. But experience in both Congresses since the Eisenhower administration took over, proved that labor and its allies can make up for much of this deficiency by 'extra-Congressional' grass-roots activity."

"Such 'extra - Congressional' grass-roots activity has now become pretty much the recognized pattern of labor political and legislative action in America....So in the next four years the labor movement will be kept busy with legislative activities that combine the work of representatives and friends in Washington with popular campaigns back home."

The Worker,
November 18, 1956, p. 3.

5. Labor-Farmer Political Party

"... There is beginning to emerge in American life the tentative outline of an effective political alliance of labor, the farmers, the Negro people and small business against the common enemy of the American people--the great monopolies."

"... We are a party of socialism. We hold that sooner or later labor and its allies must organize politically with far greater independence if they are to act effectively against the giant monopolies who dominate the life of the nation. Labor will one day not only have to curb the trusts but organize politically so that the trusts become the common property of the American people--that is, organize for socialism."

Daily Worker,
October 2, 1956, pp. 3, 7.

"The expectation is, in labor circles, as a result of this year's experiences, that labor, in finalizing its merger arrangements in the coming months, will also tackle the issue of putting labor into the political arena with two feet, statewide and locally, with emphasis an* establishing at long last labor's own political machinery."

Daily Worker,
November 6, 1956, p. 3.

6. Labor Unity

"A YEAR has passed since the convention that united the AFL and CIO into one powerful organization of 15,000,000 members. A year is not a long time historically, but much has occurred in the period to confirm the position strongly stressed by this paper that the AFL-CIO merger was a big step forward for American labor...."

*This probably should read "on."

"...we saw significant strides towards the restoration of the first principle of labor--its life-giving spirit--UNITY.

"The picture is far from ideal. Much of our labor movement is not guided by the spirit of unity and solidarity that fired its founders. But when we look back to what things were like before the merger and the no-raiding agreements--when hardly a union escaped the ravages of raiding; when it was common for rival unions to pass each other's picket lines; when unions often took opposite sides on the political field--then one must be blind not to see the difference."

"...labor's unity is strength to FIGHT more effectively."

"A SIZABLE section of labor in unaffiliated unions is still outside united labor. Among them are the United Mine Workers; the International Longshoremen's Association and most of the operating railroad unions.

"Then there is the group of four independent progressive - led unions, banned from re-entry on false grounds of 'communist' domination. The exclusion of those unions is a far greater loss to labor as a whole than to the unions involved. The influence of the militant traditions and initiative of the progressive-led unions is especially needed in labor today."

"IT SHOULD be noted, nevertheless, that there are some even among the progressive trade unionists who still maintain a super-left attitude towards the merger and the AFL-CIO; who still estimate the merger terms mechanically without taking into account the potential dynamic influence of a working class that is more active and hopeful; who still shut their eyes to the positive achievements and still emphasize the negative features and weaknesses.

"Elimination of such negative approach and the greater integration of the entire progressive current with the main stream of labor is an essential part of the unity process as a whole."

The Worker,
December 2, 1956, pp. 8, 9.

7. Organizing the Unorganized

"THERE is a big question, however; how long is it possible for ORGANIZED labor to drive ahead while two-thirds of the workers of America remained unorganized, with the gap between the strongly protected and the unprotected workers getting ever wider?"

"But the labor movement is heading towards a dead-end in its wage struggle and shorter hours (which would boost hourly rates even faster) unless its base is broadened to more millions of unorganized workers. The unorganized are a drag on its progress. Moreover, the labor movement will face new anti-labor legislation with the consent of many deceived workers and others outside union ranks, if it does not move seriously to narrow the gap between union and non-union wages by organization."

The Worker,
December 9, 1956, p. 14.

8. Labor-Management Harmony

"...there has been a working (unofficial) class collaboration agreement between the monopoly capitalists and the top leaders of organized labor, the substance of which is a mutual support of Wall Street's aggressive foreign policies and the maintenance of enormous government 'defense' expenditures of about \$40 billion yearly."

*This probably should read "is."

"This setup has facilitated the securing of considerable wage advances for the more favored workers, while for the capitalists it has meant gigantic profits. The relative ease with which the stronger trade unions in this country have been getting wage boosts during the cold war years cannot be ascribed simply to the 'boom' conditions that have prevailed generally in industry through most of these years. Nor can the tender solicitude of the higher labor leaders for enormous 'defense' appropriations be explained merely upon the grounds of their 'fear' of a Soviet invasion.... Altogether, for the workers, this collaboration with the employers for such war-like and profit-mongering ends is a dangerous one. It is provocative of the war danger, it cultivates an eventual economic crisis, and it tends to fortify political reaction."

William Z. Foster, "Karl Marx and Mass Impoverishment," Political Affairs, November, 1956, pp. 39-40.

9. Labor Racketeering

"THERE IS NO QUESTION about the need of waging a struggle against racketeering. And racketeering and gangsterism is much more strongly entrenched in the American trade unions than most leaders in American labor care to admit. But there is something wrong about the kind of a fight against racketeering and gangsterism that turns into a fight against the thousands of workers who make up the affected unions. There is something wrong about the kind of fight that gives comfort to the employers and enables them to profit from it. The AFL-CIO as the AFL before it, does not show an ability to CONVINCE the rank and file workers and win them away from their leaders.

"Expulsion and like sledgehammer methods have been the historic answer of the top bureaucracy of labor, with disastrous and costly consequences....

"The policy is that if you can't force conformance then smash 'em. This line springs from the bureaucratic tradition that differences of view cannot be tolerated in a trade union movement. It rejects voluntarism and autonomy rights. It is evidence of ideological and moral weakness-- inability to convince, a fear to test views and policies in a free and open market place."

"It is time the AFL-CIO re-examined its policy with the view to breaking with a course that calls for periodic expulsion of tens and hundreds of thousands of workers."

Daily Worker,
October 22, 1956, p. 5.

10. Maritime Strike

"NOW THAT Election Day is past, and there's no need to put up a pro-labor front for vote-getting purposes, Eisenhower has tossed the Taft-Hartley Act at the 60,000 longshore strikers."

"The shipowners obviously needed help, faced with the most solid coast-wide dockers strike in Atlantic and Gulf history, and with the West Coast longshoremen acting in solidarity.. The shipowners got this help, too.. First, the NLRB* obliged by getting a federal court injunction forbidding the International Longshoremen's Association from bargaining for an industry-wide pact. Then, the antilabor government in Washington came through with the Taft-Hartley assault.

"No wonder the shipowners refused to bargain seriously with the I. L. A.

"The NMU** and ILWU*** have given fine examples of labor solidarity. But where are the New York and national AFL-CIO?"

*This refers to the National Labor Relations Board.

**This refers to the National Maritime Union of America - AFL-CIO.

***This refers to the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union - Independent.

"The merged labor movement faces a major challenge today in the longshore struggle. It seems to us that the answer lies in SOLIDARITY, in revitalizing labor's traditional slogans of unity against the employers."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 26, 1956, p. 5.

"... But application of T-H to the dock strike was a clear example of the use of the law to help the employers. It is equally clear that the potential use of the law encouraged the employers to both provoke the strike and prolong the unsettled situation on the waterfront along the coast."

The Worker,
December 2, 1956, p. 4.

"... The leaders of the AFL-CIO should look the facts in the face and declare the organization's full support of the strike."

Daily Worker,
November 19, 1956, p. 5.

11. Workers Need Socialism

"... Only under Socialism, with the industries owned by the people and the political power in the hands of the workers and their allies, will the workers be able to raise their living standards to the maximum and to make these standards safe from all attack."

"... More and more, on a world scale, the workers are taking the offensive in defending and improving their living standards against all employers' attacks and against the general impoverishment

tendencies of obsolescent capitalism. The CPUSA* should do all possible to strengthen in our country this basic trend of the international labor movement. Especially it should lay stress upon developing the counter-crisis programs of the trade unions. These must be based, not upon the 'trickle down' theories of Keynesism, but upon real attacks against monopoly capitalist profits. The Party must help to ready the workers to fight militantly for these when the acute need appears, as it will. It must cultivate among the masses the meaning of Socialism, as their only guarantee of prosperity."

"These recent innovations in Communist theory and policy do not constitute a weakening or an abandonment of Marxism-Leninism, as so many comrades these days assume, but its development in order to meet rapidly changing world conditions. They are not class collaborationist, but are based upon the class struggle. In this country, they tend to lay the basis for ever-closer working relations between the Communist Party and the great masses of organized and unorganized workers...."

William Z. Foster, "Karl Marx and Mass Impoverishment," Political Affairs, November, 1956, pp. 36, 41, 42.

* This refers to the Communist Party, USA.

IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The decline in farm prices is continuing.
2. The farm policy of the Republican Administration is encouraging inflation.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Farm Prices Dropping

"...Oct. 15 farm prices again were down for the fourth successive month--although by a hairline 0.85 percent. Secretary of Agriculture Era Taft Benson tried to prevent this election eve occurrence by announcing, one hour before release of the news, that the government was ready to buy \$100 million of pork and pork products. When his proclamation failed to wipe out the hairline decline, he immediately announced that the drop was 'slight' and 'seasonal.' "

The Worker,
November 11, 1956, p. 5.

2. Administration's Farm Policy

"The President spoke as his own agricultural department disclosed Americans will next year pay higher prices for less meat.

"He could have taken note of the fact that his own administration's policy of squeezing out many small farmers and concentrating production of food in fewer hands has contributed to the rising cost of food products.

"He could have further noted how the administration's policy of encouraging scarcity by paying farmers to cut crop acreage, is keeping up food prices."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 21, 1956, p. 3.

"... The government's policy to 'help' the farmers by a program of scarcity, and its edicts tightening money for mortgages and financing of other purchases, far from discouraging this inflationary trend, are furthering it."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 28, 1956, p. 5.

V. COLONIALISM

1. Colonialism is on the wane.
2. The anti-imperialist "revolution" is growing in intensity.
3. Imperialism has always been accompanied by "murder and robbery."
4. Great Britain is maintaining a colonial regime in Cyprus.
5. The imperialist powers are "drenching Africa with blood again."
6. The United States supports colonialism.
7. The Soviet Union opposes colonialism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Decline of Colonialism

"Thus, although there is a Middle East crisis one aspect of it is that the colonial powers have been weakened and the anti-imperialist movement in North Africa and the Near East has been strengthened...."

Daily Worker,
November 21, 1956, p. 5.

"... The invasion of Egypt can well mark a new phase in the decline and fall of colonialism which set in with the winning of Indian independence, the Chinese revolution, and independence for Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon and other lands."

The Worker,
November 18, 1956, p. 13.

"...The tide of colonial empire is ebbing. Crossing it are the strong winds of national liberation...."

Max Weiss, "Notes of the Month,"
Political Affairs, November, 1956, p. 2.

2. Anti-Imperialist"Revolution"

"...For the Asian-African revolution has already liberated India, Burma and Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, and started China and Viet-Nam on the Socialist path."

"And this revolution--as it sweeps forward--will bring control of their natural resources to the oppressed peoples of the Mid East."

"That's why the imperialists are drawing their guns today."

The Worker,
October 7, 1956, p. 10.

"BUT A NEW DAY IS DAWNING. The Asian - African revolution is rolling West and South from China, Viet Nam, Burma, India and Egypt. And the African peoples are listening with hope to the Egyptian radio, which speaks in their own language. 'Africa for the Africans' is becoming the cry."

"The struggle against imperialism is becoming more intense in every continent of the world."

The Worker,
November 11, 1956, p. 13.

3. Imperialism Brings Murder and Robbery

"IMPERIALISM HAS meant murder--mass murder--and robbery from the beginning. It meant murder and robbery when the British looted India.... It meant murder and robbery in the Philippines when Gen. Arthur MacArthur was hanging guerrillas wholesale and giving the 'water cure' to dozens of imprisoned mayors...."

"But the imperialists wallowed deepest in African blood. For tens of millions of African farmers and herdsmen were butchered in the slave raids of the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries. And tens of millions more perished since modern imperialism began two generations ago."

The Worker,
November 11, 1956, pp. 1, 13.

4. Cyprus

"It was crime compounded by crime that Cyprus was the staging area from which the British and French launched their invasion of Egypt. Cyprus is under colonial rule. Only military force keeps Cyprus beneath the British flag. Some 80 percent of the people there are Greek. They have shown on many occasions their strong determination for union with Greece. But action for self-determination in Cyprus is a crime punishable by hanging. Even the church has become an object of continuous persecution because the priests and bishops of Cyprus support the will of their communicants."

Daily Worker,
November 12, 1956, p. 5.

5. Africa

"IMPERIALISM is drenching Africa with blood again. The weapons are different now than in 1882 when Prime Minister Gladstone burned Alexandria and bombarded Port Said. For Eden and Mollet are

murdering the darkskinned people of Egypt faster in 1956. They are murdering them with high-powered Corsair bombers from American production lines and with rapid fire artillery instead of smooth bore cannon....

"But the imperialists's aims are the same as 74 years ago. They aim to put the chains of imperialism on the Nile land again. They aim to squeeze the workers and fellahs of Egypt to the bone and to fatten the bankers of London and Paris. And to terrify all darkskinned peoples who might want to rebel."

"TAKE THE CONGO murders, for instance. Here 20 to 25 million men, women and children died after King Leopold of Belgium took over...."

"The fattest fortunes in Belgium come from this Congo land, where the people now dig uranium and copper and diamonds, and grow palm oil and peanuts for their European oppressors.

"Much of this wealth flows into American and British coffers today. For the Rockefellers and Morgans and the London bankers are big investors in the Belgian Congo firms."

"In South Africa the Negro mine workers are treated like cattle...."

"'Apartheid'--as the South African white rulers call their system--is another spelling for imperialism. And anyway you spell it imperialism means slavery and death."

"Most terrible is the fate of the Kikuyu tribesmen in Kenya, East Africa. Here tens of thousands of men, women and children have been imprisoned by Churchill and Eden. And many hundreds have been executed by their white masters."

The Worker,
November 11, 1956, pp. 1, 13.

6. United States Supports Colonialism

"... And the fact remains that while the British, French and our own representatives in UN make pious pleas against foreign intervention --British troops massacre the people of Cyprus and Kenya, French troops massacre Algerians seeking self-determination and American troops garrison bases on every continent of the globe while supporting the British and colonial wars...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 30, 1956, p. 5.

"... Our planes, tanks, ships and troops are stationed on every continent, our armed forces stand guard to protect the rich and well-born against the masses...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 29, 1956, p. 5.

7. USSR Opposes Colonialism

"... the Soviet Union has traditionally supported the Asian and African people in their struggles for self determination. Of the big powers only the Soviet Union was truly sympathetic to the Bandung conference. Did this necessarily make the Soviet Union a foe of Israel?

"While the Soviet Union was supporting the Arab countries against colonialism, this did not mean the USSR was opposed to the national existence of Israel...."

Daily Worker,
November 2, 1956, p. 5.

"...colonialism is alien to a socialist economy and abhorrent to a Communist movement....it is true that under Stalin there were alien and abhorrent trends within socialist countries and Communist movements. The correction of those trends, particularly after the Yugoslav-Soviet agreement of June, 1955, signified a return to Marxist principles, particularly relating to the different paths to socialism and to international working class solidarity based on absolute equality, on non-interference in the affairs of other parties and on mutual, friendly criticism."

Daily Worker,
October 19, 1956, p. 5.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The trials of members of the Communist Party, USA, for violation of the Smith Act are a "national shame."
2. Those convicted of violating the Smith Act should be granted amnesty.
3. The "fascist-like" Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) is unconstitutional.
4. The Walter-McCarran Act is biased against racial, national, and religious groups.
5. The Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Walter-McCarran Act, and the Taft-Hartley Law should be repealed.
6. Confidential informants have been guilty of perjury over a period of years.
7. Congressional investigating committees are encouraging a "fascist-like atmosphere in the country."
8. The Senate rules by which unlimited debate is permitted and by which promotion is based on seniority should be changed.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Smith Act

"While there have been a total of 160 Smith Act indictments*-- on conspiracy, membership and the collateral 'harboring' charge--from 1948 to date the resistance has not remained static. Increasingly, if unevenly, many groups in the country are beginning to understand that the continued prosecution of Communists under the Smith Act is harmful to the democratic rights of all and to the very Bill of Rights."

The Worker,
October 7, 1956, p. 3.

*145 leaders of the Communist Party, USA, have been indicted for violation of the Smith Act.

"...Americans have been convicted in courts, and in the public mind, of conspiring to overthrow the government by force. But... the government admits that Smith Act victims did not teach overthrow of the government at the very same meeting which had been cited to convict them!

"What then remains? A law, and a series of trials unprecedented in our history and, to our national shame, unduplicated anywhere else in the world today."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 11, 1956, p. 5.

"THE JUSTICE Department has devoted considerable manpower and its best talents to the Lightfoot and Scales cases* in the hope that the Supreme Court will uphold the conviction and affirm the constitutionality of the membership section of the act.

"A victory in these cases would give the department a green light legally to proceed with prosecutions of a number of individuals whom it could not hope to convict of advocating the forceful overthrow of the government, nor of 'conspiring' with others to do so."

The Worker,
October 7, 1956, p. 7.

2. Amnesty for Smith Act "Victims"

". . . several hundred of our fellow citizens have added their names to a petition urging both Presidential amnesty for Smith Act victims already convicted and the halting of scheduled trials pending Supreme Court review of the law.

* Claude Lightfoot and Junius Scales, both members of the Communist Party, USA, have been convicted under the membership clause of the Smith Act. They are now free on bond pending their appeals.

"Among the hundreds of signators are clergymen, educators, men and women of prominence in public life across the country. Their action is a heartening sign of the restoration of sanity in America and the revulsion, now common to a majority of Americans, against the bullying persecution of minority opinion that has torn gaping holes in the fabric of democratic liberties."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 5, 1956, p. 5.

"We can think of few acts more in keeping with the holiday spirit or of greater service to the cause of democracy than renewed appeal at this time to President Eisenhower in behalf of the Smith Act victims still in jail."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 20, 1956, p. 5.

3. Internal Security Act of 1950

"THE SUBVERSIVE Activities Control Board has solved the Supreme Court's order on its ruling on the Communist Party very simply. It eliminated the testimony of three informers who were exposed as perjurors, and who were so named by the court, and it concluded that what was left of its proceedings was enough for its conclusion--that the party and its members must register as 'subversives.' "

"...While the case against the Communist Party is still tied up in legal procedures, steps have already been taken in a big way to outlaw several unions under the most recent Butler bill additions to the original McCarran Law. The Supreme Court shattered decisively the hopes of the government to outlaw those unions under the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. So the Department of Justice is banking on obtaining the same result under the fascist-like Subversive Activities (McCarran) Control Act."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 20, 1956, p. 5.

"...the McCarran Act itself, is in clear violation of the constitutional guarantees of free speech, press and assembly. "

"We are confident...that the McCarran Act, which set up the board of political censors known as the SACB, will be found unconstitutional."

Daily Worker,
December 19, 1956, p. 3.

4. Walter-McCarran Act

"WHEN REP. FRANCIS WALTER parades as a champion of the open door and the hearty welcome to our shores, it's time to get suspicious."

"Father of the racist law which bears his name, Walter is notorious for his exclusionist principles. He would keep out of America all immigrants save those whose bona fides include a white Aryan ancestry and a properly pro-fascist political history. On the other hand, Walter's ugly bias toward the Latin, colored and other national and religious groupings is clearly reflected in the McCarran-Walter Act."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 22, 1956, p. 5.

5. Repeal Anticommunist Legislation

"Despite the wishes of the leaders of both political parties, the civil rights of the Negro people were forced into the political arena as one of the major campaign issues. Unfortunately, no comparable mass movement was rallied to project the general issue of freedom from political persecution, and the defense of the Bill of Rights. The repeal of the network of repressive laws which threaten the freedom of every American citizen--the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the McCarran-Walter Act--was never raised. To all intents and purposes, American civil liberties were not an issue in the election."

Daily Worker,
November 15, 1956, p. 7.

"...repeal the Taft-Hartley, McCarran and Smith Acts; end Smith Act prosecutions and extend amnesty to all political prisoners."

Daily Worker,
October 2, 1956, p. 7.

6. Confidential Informants

"In one case after another, informers have been exposed as liars.... The Justice Department's informers have been either proven liars in open court or they have ducked a court challenge of their falsehoods."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 2, 1956, p. 5.

"'THESE FALSE witnesses were hirelings of the FBI, the national political police. They made a living by perjury for years. For they appeared at scores of hearings against progressive foreign-born workers, facing deportation....'"

The Worker,
October 28, 1956, pp. 9, 14.

"The job has no future. Judas found that out long ago. And the woods are full of worn-out informers, who are of no more use to the Pontius Pilates of 1956. For these two-legged rats wear out almost as quickly as waterfront prostitutes or underworld torpedoes."

The Worker,
October 14, 1956, p. 9.

7. Congressional Investigating Committees

"WITH THE ELECTION over, the witchhunters did not lose a day in making known their plans for a new drive to revive McCarthyism in

America. Both the Eastland Senate and House Walter committees have announced they will open their old stands without delay.

"But there is a different atmosphere in the country. These committees no longer have the bite they once had....

"It is high time labor took an offensive against these labor-haters and bigots who under cover of congressional authority and anti-Communism are fanning a fascist-like atmosphere in the country."

"Those responsible for leadership in both parties should be reminded of their frequent campaign assurances against McCarthyism. They should be asked to make it known what they will do to stop another McCarthyite binge in America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 13, 1956, p. 5.

"...end the witch-hunt of the last ten years, with its Congressional inquisitions..."

Daily Worker,
October 2, 1956, p. 7.

8. Changes in Senate Rules

"THE NEW Congress does not meet until January, but already the first big fight is under way. And not a day too soon either--because the chance to break the Dixiecrat grip on the Senate comes on opening day. That is when a group of six liberal Democratic Senators, with assistance from some Republicans will wage battle against Rule 22. This rule makes it possible to kill any legislation--especially on civil rights--by way of the filibuster."

"The magnitude of the opening day fight on Rule 22 is of vital importance for the entire 16-point program which the six Democratic Senators have embodied in their 'Declaration of 1957.' "

"Labor and other organizations have a few weeks left in which to mount a drive against the filibuster. Every moment devoted to it will pay off handsomely during the period ahead."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 28, 1956, p. 5.

"BATTLE lines are forming over the liberal Democratic move to abolish the filibuster Rule 22 when the Senate opens Jan. 3."

"However, with the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition in the saddle, the liberal fight to abolish Rule 22 and for civil rights legislation is believed doomed unless an aroused labor and people's movement fights the issue through."

Daily Worker,
November 30, 1956, p. 3.

"What is in order between now and the opening of Congress in January is work for a bi-partisan agreement to attack and change the seniority rules and Rule 22 of the U.S. Senate. The seniority rule needs to be changed to prevent the shame of a James O. Eastland achieving automatically the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee. And Rule 22 needs changing to force a Senate vote on civil rights bills after sufficient discussion by giving a majority of those present the right to limit debate."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 13, 1956, p. 5.

"But the real test is whether President Eisenhower himself will now use his undoubted influence to line up the majority of Republicans behind the move of the liberal Democrats to abolish filibuster Rule 22 when the Senate starts work Jan. 3."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 4, 1956, p. 5.

VII. ARMED FORCES

1. Government spending for military purposes should be reduced so that a large-scale program to improve social welfare can be initiated.
2. All troops should be withdrawn from all foreign bases.
3. In the case of Lieutenant Titus Saunders, the United States Air Force "surrendered" to the "Dixiecrats."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. America's Militarized Economy

"However, we do not have an 'old attitude' of a militarized economy. It was thrust upon us during the last decade. Most would be happy to do away with it. That a sharp slash in arms spending would require economic adjustments goes without saying. But these adjustments could be positive and beneficial, harmful only to the profits of arms manufacturers."

"Without support for disarmament, welfare proposals are at least tainted with demagogic...."

The Worker,
October 21, 1956, p. 4.

"...The crushing burden of armaments restricts social welfare expenditures and hits every low income taxpayer...."

Daily Worker,
October 2, 1956, p. 3.

"What could be a better pledge of allegiance to America than a pledge to fight against the Wall Street forces which have sunk \$40,000,000,000 into arms profiteering and kept one-fifth of the nation ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed?..."

The Worker,
October 14, 1956, p. 6.

2. Withdrawal of Troops from Foreign Bases

"NO PEOPLE LIKES to have foreign troops stationed on its soil. Recent events in Egypt and Hungary have brought this question into sharp focus.

"Of course, the issue isn't the same in those two countries. Foreign troops--British, French and Israeli--are in Egypt as a result of one of the most brazen acts of aggression in the long sordid history of imperialism. Foreign troops--those of the Soviet Union--are in Hungary by agreement between the two countries under the Warsaw Pact, counterpart of NATO, as well as under the Potsdam Agreement (Hungary was part of the fascist Axis)."

"It's time to negotiate the withdrawal of ALL foreign troops from ALL countries--it could be part of the agenda of a new summit conference. This proposal has been repeatedly made by the Soviet Union, only to be rebuffed by Washington, London and Paris."

Editorial, The Worker,
December 2, 1956, p. 4.

"THE WITHDRAWAL of all foreign troops throughout the world to their own soil would open the way to solution of the most knotty problems of world politics. It could lead to the solution of the German problem through the neutralization and unification of Germany. This would bar the way to a revival of German militarism which precipitated two world wars.

"As long as American military bases ring the globe the cold war continues. As long as our government opposes so minimum a step to peace as stopping H-bomb tests, we block the way to permanent solutions of East-West conflicts...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 5, 1956, p. 5.

"THE question of troop withdrawal BY BOTH SIDES in Europe is shaping up as a major issue today...."

"Here then is a capital issue for top level negotiations between our country and the Soviet Union. Doesn't this call for a new summit conference? At any rate it means that high level channels of negotiation must be established between our country and the Soviet Union. Mutual troop evacuation can become a means for spurring disarmament, easing international tensions and ending the whole cold war. It would also enhance sovereignty of all European peoples, West as well as East of the Elbe."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 27, 1956, p. 5.

3. The Case of Lieutenant Titus Saunders

"THE U. S. ARMY has the reputation of never retreating, but the Air Force has been forced to surrender, unconditionally, to the Invisible Empire of the Dixiecrats in the case of Lt. Titus Saunders. With no more than a rigged racist 'trial' in Columbus, Miss., of the young Negro officer, the Dixiecrat Congressional brigade began its assaults. Their ultimate demand was the dismissal of Lt. Saunders.

"This week the Air Force caved in, even to the point of giving Lt. Saunders a less than honorable discharge. The victorious 'general' in this successful assault was Sen. John Stennis, the Mississippi Democrat. To

Stennis and his fellow merchants of race-hate Lt. Saunders, wearing the uniform of an officer in the U. S. Army, symbolized integration and Negro first class citizenship. His frame-up on a drunken driving charge in Mississippi represented to the Stennis-type latter-day Confederates a blow against desegregation--and the right of all Negroes."

"The Air Force surrendered on a front which menaces every soldier forced to serve his country in the Deep South."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 7, 1956, p. 5.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The question of civil rights is "the foremost domestic issue of the day."
2. The Federal Government should intervene to guarantee equal rights for Negroes in the Southern States.
3. Both major political parties are evading the question of desegregation in education.
4. The struggle of the Negroes in the Southern States for their civil rights deserves widespread support.
5. The ruling of the United States Supreme Court which prohibits segregation in intrastate transportation will require strong enforcement by the Executive Branch of the Government.
6. The tactic of "passive resistance," typified by the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, has added new vigor to the fight for equal rights for Negroes.
7. The Department of Justice should prosecute the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan.
8. The Federal Government should take legal action against the White Citizens' Councils.
9. Discrimination against Negroes is still prevalent in industry.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Civil Rights

"Not since the days of the Abolitionist movement and the Civil War has the issue of Negro rights engaged the attention of the nation with such compelling force. The Supreme Court has outlawed segregation in the school system. But in the main it has been left for the Negro people and their children to enforce the decision. The heroism of the Negro people in sending their children into schools as mobs gather and burn Negroes in effigy constitutes one of the most heroic chapters in American history...."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Impending Elections," Political Affairs, October, 1956, pp. 8, 9.

"For every democratic-minded American civil rights is the foremost domestic issue of the day. Shall Negro and white children be protected in the right to learn together? Shall the Negro people of the South enjoy the right to vote? Shall the Negro people walk in dignity and equality in jobs, housing and all other aspects of American life? Will not the winning of civil rights for the Negro people advance the economic and political rights of the great masses of America?"

"On civil rights and civil liberties: prompt Federal enforcement of the Supreme Court desegregation decision through every channel open to the Executive; firm action against those who advocate and practice force and violence against the Supreme Court decision; a legislative program to guarantee full political and economic rights to the Negro people, North and South..."

Daily Worker,
October 2, 1956, pp. 3, 7.

2. Federal Intervention in the Southern States

"The Deep South officials have been permitted to exercise 'local option' on the U.S. Constitution, honoring only those sections of that document they choose. To these confirmed racists no part of the U.S. Constitution applies to Negroes."

"We cannot depend upon Presidential platitudes and states rights promises to advance democracy in the Deep South. It is just about a century late in coming, a century in which there have been too many unsolved murders of Negroes."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 1, 1956, p. 5.

"AT LONG LAST U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell has publicly acknowledged that the Department of Justice has some responsibility for enforcing decisions of the U. S. Court. This is progress. For in calling a meeting of U. S. Attorneys in states with laws which segregate public conveyances Brownell is veering sharply from the do-nothing position he has maintained on rulings of the high court against public school segregation."

"If backed up vigorous action,* this policy could result in a peaceful transition from segregation to integration on public carriers in the South.

"But why limit the order of business in the scheduled Dec. 10 meeting of southern U. S. Attorneys to the transportation issues? Why not include, also, the issue of school desegregation?

"...Let us not limit ourselves to half-a-loaf of desegregation when the whole loaf is just within our grasp."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 23, 1956, p. 5.

*This probably should read "backed up by vigorous action."

3. Segregation in Education

"JUDGING FROM the speeches of the leading Presidential and Congressional candidates, school integration is a dead issue. Political activity on this issue...is left to those who base their careers on the exploitation of racism."

"The evasions by the leading candidates have left the ears of the Southern voters exclusively to the Negro-baiters and law-defiers.

"Where is President Eisenhower's 'persuasion'?...And what are the Democratic 'moderates' doing in this campaign to 'create a climate of understanding,' which Adlai Stevenson says is so necessary?"

"Here is an issue which, if dealt with, can quicken the pulse of the electorate and make this a more meaningful and vigorous campaign moving towards the realization of basic American principles."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 11, 1956, p. 5.

4. Violence in the Southern States

"FOR A WEEK now southern Negroes by hundreds of thousands have been risking prison and even death in a dramatic, non-violent struggle to enjoy constitutional and human rights the U. S. Supreme Court says is theirs. In effect, Negroes, who make up more than half of the bus riders in these southern cities, are saying:

"The U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that laws requiring separation of the races in public transportation is illegal; we will not degrade ourselves and the federal government by obeying these relics of an immoral era.

"For thus taking their stand beside the U.S. Constitution, the Supreme Court and law and order, Negroes are set upon by policemen, imprisoned, shot at by inspired hoodlums, assaulted on buses and bombed in their homes."

"Where is the follow-up to the brave statement made in November by Attorney General Herbert Brownell to the effect that any effort to enforce segregation laws on buses would be considered by the Department of Justice as a 'crime against the government?' These laws are being enforced in Birmingham, Mobile and Tallahassee. . . Is crime to go unpunished in states like Alabama and Florida simply because the criminals are infringing only the rights of Negro citizens?"

"IF THE PRESS, the churches, labor unions and civil rights organizations were to support the anti-segregation fight with financial aid and solidarity actions, victory would be a matter of days. It is this type of support, in addition to vigorous activity by the federal government, that is urgently needed.

"The nation as a whole needs to recognize that the southern Negroes are in the van of the fight to extend American democracy. And democracy is indivisible."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 28, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

5. Segregation in Intrastate Transportation

"CONGRATULATIONS are in order to the Negro people of Montgomery, Ala. Their historic bus boycott of more than a year has now been climaxed by a U.S. Supreme Court decision in their favor.

"Moreover, as in every such victory, the implications go far beyond the immediate case. It is expected the court's decision in the bus case will be the basis for outlawing all state or municipal statutes anywhere that require discrimination on public vehicles."

"But this new blow to the shameful 'separate but equal' doctrine has still to be carried out in life."

"President Eisenhower, who has yet to say that he supports the school desegregation decision, should speak out in favor of that decision and of the new bus decision as well. He should call for compliance with the court's ruling; order the Justice Department to swing into action behind the Constitution and mobilize official and public opinion in the South for wiping out an un-American and inhuman situation which has too long disgraced our country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 15, 1956, p. 5.

6. Passive Resistance

"THE U. S. SUPREME COURT ruling against segregated local transportation issued last Nov. 13 came on the 344th day of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. Led by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the boycott movement had cost the local bus company more than \$750,000. The passive resistance movement against second class citizenship had raised the Negro community's estimate of its own strength and had signalled the Negroes' irrevocable commitment against all forms of jimcrow."

The Worker,
November 25, 1956, p. 1.

"The editorial comment on the Montgomery passive resistance movement... proves that the ground has been prepared for building a communications link between the Negro and white communities...."

Daily Worker,
December 13, 1956, p. 5.

"Montgomery Negroes have worked out a tactic of mass passive resistance to supplement and combine with that of legal attacks against unconstitutional jimcrow."

"It is a move which deserves the attention and alliance of every group in the country interested in defending the Constitution and expanding democracy."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 3, 1956, p. 5.

"In improving their city, Montgomery's Negroes have affected the fight against racism throughout the United States. They have given the movement for civil rights a new method--passive resistance--and added new and vigorous leaders to the fight."

"We wish the movement every success in Montgomery and in every other city where the illegal and immoral racist system mocks the concept of brotherhood and democracy."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 6, 1956, p. 5.

7. Ku Klux Klan

"The self-appointed defenders of 'the Anglo-Saxon race,' hooded, robed and armed, are again challenging law and order in the Deep South's cities and towns. From the South Atlantic to Eastern Texas, the newly-formed squads of bullies-in-bedsheets are swearing to die if need be to prevent compliance with the U. S. Supreme Court's desegregation rulings.

"The credo of the Ku Klux Klan of the Konfederacy formed in Birmingham, Ala., is 'militant action (by) militant men--men of action, not words.' Thus the Klan announces its war against law and reason with the primitive violence of the whip and the gun.

"Crosses have been burned before the homes of white and Negro southerners who favor school integration. Negroes have been killed for wanting to vote; school boards have been forced to honor the wishes of the Klan and ignore mandates of the Supreme Court--all because of 'militant action' by Klansmen.

"This subversion is not hidden. The perpetrators of the racist crimes are known. The conspiracy is an open book.

"The law enforcement agencies of the nation, and especially the Justice Department, cannot instil obedience to law without going after these hooded thugs, whose declared aims are to make law enforcement impossible."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 2, 1956, p. 5.

8. White Citizens' Councils

"Eisenhower is not alone a candidate for re-election. He is President of the United States with the full power of enforcing the law, and this is his bounden duty under the Constitution which he is sworn to uphold. It is within his power, and clearly his duty, to guarantee the enforcement of the desegregation decision, to insure that Negro citizens in the Deep South exercise the vote, and to prosecute and jail the White Citizens Councils which are inciting violent and open defiance of the law of the land. His failures in this situation show a scandalous contempt for the heroic struggles of the Negro people in the South for his oath, and undoubtedly amaze civilized people all over the world."

Daily Worker,
October 23, 1956, p. 4.

9. Discrimination in Industry

"Discrimination is immensely profitable, and employers are in business to make profits. Discrimination cannot be limited or eliminated without reducing profits."

"... discrimination is producing at least 16 billion dollars of extra profit each year for employers.

"TO WIPE out discrimination would mean, among other things, elimination of wage differentials. That is, employers would have to pay Negro workers the same wages they pay white workers; they would have to pay Southern workers--both Negro and white--the same wages they pay Northern workers.

"So it would cost employers at least 16 billion dollars a year to get rid of discrimination. That is why the big corporations, instead of trying to get rid of it, are doing everything possible to continue it, and will go on doing everything possible to continue it."

The Worker,
November 18, 1956, p. 6.

"... Large sections of these workers are Negroes, last to be hired, first to be laid off, because of long time discrimination, which FEPC* laws still does not eradicate. Women workers, young workers are also a big part of this jobless group."

Daily Worker,
November 23, 1956, p. 3.

*This refers to the Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

IX. EDUCATION

1. The crisis in American education still persists.
2. Federal aid for education is urgently needed.
3. The Jefferson School of Social Science was forced to close because of "hysteria and persecutions."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Crisis in Education

"...Mounting enrolments teamed with a shortage of qualified teachers and classrooms have deprived at least 840,000 children of full-time schooling this year.

"School systems still are employing about 80,000 teachers who are not fully qualified.

"Enrollments in Teachers' College are not increasing fast enough to meet the need for qualified teachers. The 'real need' for new teachers this year is an estimated 180,000."

Daily Worker,
December 3, 1956, p. 1.

2. Federal Aid for Education

"What happened on school aid is typical of the entire course of the Eisenhower Administration: to propose fairly good measures with the expectation that they will be killed by Congress.

"There is no more urgent question than federal aid to education...."

"...Each candidate for Congress must be examined on his voting record with regard to aid to education and other vital issues and on the guarantees which he gives in the event he is elected."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 3, 1956, p. 5.

3. Jefferson School of Social Science

"THE ANNOUNCED termination of existence by the Jefferson School of Social Science will be sincerely regretted by the thousands who have enrolled in its classes since 1944 and the many who still expected to do so. In its 12 years the institution has been a study center of Marxism with thousands who are today active progressive workers and leaders in numerous fields owing much to the inspiration and knowledge they received in that building on the Avenue of Americas.

"The most important fact that must be stated for the whole world to know is that the shutdown of the school is primarily due to the McCarranite-McCarthyite hysteria and persecutions. The 'miracle' was the ability of the school to continue operation through this entire shameful period, although on a curtailed scale. Tribute for that is due to courageous and self-sacrificing men and women of the school's faculty and the hundreds who defying the inquisitors and stoolpigeons, stood by their right to enroll in such school."

"The whole world ought to be told that in this land whose spokesmen and special radio apparatus abroad are so boastful of our 'freedom,' people who teach and study in 'non-conformist' institutions like the Jefferson School are hounded, outlawed and persecuted by a special 'dangerous thoughts' agency known as the Subversive Activities Control Board."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 29, 1956, p. 5.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. The United States "stupidly" discontinued cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union.
2. In the United States, poetry has become the "tattered orphan of the arts."
3. A revival of proletarian literature would benefit the United States.
4. Censorship over art and science still persists in the United States.
5. Under capitalism, art has been reduced to either a "luxury trade" or a "personal hobby."
6. Marxist scientists and artists should make greater use of the work of "non-Marxists and even anti-Marxists."
7. Marxists do not advocate that the end justifies the means.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Cultural Exchanges

"THE STATE DEPARTMENT has suspended its program of cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union in what is asserted to be a protest over the situation in Hungary.

"This action is supposed to help the people of Hungary. We wish someone would tell us just how."

"If our State Department were really concerned about the people of Hungary--and of every other country including our own--it would find ways to increase cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union instead of stupidly suspending them."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
December 5, 1956, p. 5.

2. Poetry in America

"POETRY IN AMERICA is a tattered orphan of the arts..."

"...This art, here and now, has fallen among the Pharisees who, in the main, regard the poet as kin to the hobo, possibly more literate than most, but a daft creature, who, after you have read Longfellow's Hiawatha in your juvenile years at school can well stay out of your way...."

"...the Muse is not ignored elsewhere as she is in our homeland..."

The Worker,
November 25, 1956, p. 2.

3. Proletarian Literature

"...There is a fashion of feeling that because we have escaped a major depression since the Thirties, pure art has gotten a breathing spell; side-taking is out; protest is passe; an Augustan Age is in the bud. Why then so many cries about the ineffectuality of American literature from

even those who do not understand the reason for it and who mock the art of the Thirties, which they admit was effectual, even if they are so prejudiced as to find nothing else good in it?"

Charles Humboldt, "The Salt of Freedom,"
Mainstream, October, 1956, p. 17.

"All over the world today Marxist writers and other artists are locked in a great debate, the end of which is not yet in sight, on the need to establish creative freedom for the individual artist within a culture that is responsive to the socialist goals of the nation."

• • • • •
"Whether the next big wave of workingclass literature will avoid the deficiencies of its forbears remains to be seen.

"Even with its limitations, the genre enriched American literature and influenced other writers. When one considers how little of published literature today emulates the best in proletarian literature by describing workingclass life, exploring the realities of our economic system and giving voice to the plaints of the people at the bottom, it cannot be doubted that America will be the richer when a new, wiser and fuller social literature emerges."

Daily Worker,
October 10, 1956, p. 6.

4. Censorship over Art and Science

"...The threat to artists and scientists is not a dwindling twister on the Left, but a swamp and a year-round soaking drizzle over the whole country. The censorship and debasement of art, the misuse and repression

of scientific work, are common as sand in the United States. The facts are little known or quickly forgotten by the masses of Americans, including the intellectuals..."

Charles Humboldt, "The Salt of Freedom," Mainstream, October, 1956, p.22.

5. Art under Capitalism

"...Capitalism has reduced the vocation of art to a luxury trade on the one hand, and a personal hobby for the artist on the other. Thus, every painter, not reduced to a mere manipulator in the luxury trade, has to fight for a few hours a day or a week in which he can 'work': that is to say draw or paint, having gained the bare means of livelihood by doing some other job...."

"...The tragedy of art, and indeed of many other skills and trades, under the later stages of capitalism is that the status of the calling has been totally destroyed, and the standards of superficial success, either in terms of temporary reputation or money, have been put in its place. This has had a far-reaching effect on the artist."

John Berger, "The Problems of the Painter," Mainstream, November, 1956, pp. 25, 30.

6. Marxist Science

"...Marxists have failed to recognize how extra-scientific factors, other than class ideology, may affect scientific work and have therefore failed to apply Marxist social analysis (Sociology of Knowledge) to their own practice."

"... In an effort to buttress arguments for a position essentially directed by expediency, Marxists have often overlooked other viewpoints and contradictory data...."

"These abuses are expressed in a number of ways: failure to utilize work of non-Marxist scholars; inability to criticize, expand and revise Marxism; asserting positions rather than demonstrating them (phrase-mongering).

"Many leading Marxist writers fail to utilize developments of modern non-Marxist sciences sufficiently...."

"Marxists must be prepared to learn from non-Marxists and even anti-Marxists. As they reappraise their views... Marxists will come back more into the mainstream of science (and art), will make meaningful contributions in these areas which many non-Marxists will find it impossible to ignore, and finally will enrich Marxism itself through interpenetration with life."

Ann Levine and Paul Robertson,
"Partisanship and Science," Political Affairs, October, 1956, pp. 56, 57, 59, 64.

7. Marxist Morality

"THE CHARGE that Marxism teaches 'the end justifies the means' expresses an extreme form of hypocrisy as it is used in the press and all the instruments of bourgeois propaganda. It is a smokescreen used by those entrenched in power to conceal or confuse the goals and ends of those who challenge them. Having no end but the perpetuation of their own wealth and power, they seek to turn attention away from the aims of their opponents by hypocritically expressing abhorrence at their alleged means. It is always the other side, the unpopular side, that is supposed to believe the end justifies the means."

"But the charge comes with ill grace from those who continually threaten the world with hydrogen bomb warfare, massive retaliation, etc., to charge their opponents with immorality. Some people justify Truman's decision to drop atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and then accuse President Nasser of believing that the end justifies the means when he nationalizes the Suez Canal Company. The overthrow by force and violence of the legally constituted and popular government of Guatemala was called appropriate resistance against a 'Communist beachhead' in the Western Hemisphere, but the methods by which the Communists won all of China against the Chiang Kai-shek government with all its billions worth of American arms represented the belief that the end justifies the means.

"It is a false accusation from the first...."

"... 'victory for our side at all costs'... is the policy of the imperialists and it dooms them to defeat. It is the progressive world that carries and must carry mankind's highest moral ideals."

Howard Selsam, "Do Ends Justify Means?"
Mainstream, November, 1956, pp. 17, 20.

XI. WOMEN

1. Discrimination against Negro women in industry is still prevalent, particularly in the Southern States.
2. Socialism offers the solution to the problems of women.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Discrimination against Negro Women

"Although industry in the south has grown by many million dollars' worth in recent years, very few Negro women have received any of the new jobs created. Those Negro women who are employed in southern factories work for the most part in unskilled classifications. and receive the lowest pay.

"... More than one-half of the Negro women in the country--and an even higher percentage in the South--work as domestics or as clean-up women in factories, office buildings, schools and hotels."

"The few Negro women who do get jobs in southern industry work in the unskilled, lowest-paying categories...."

"... substandard wages paid to Negro workers, especially to women, are a drag on southern pay scales in general and a threat to union wage scales in the North...."

The Worker,
October 7, 1956, p. 11.

2. Socialism Will Solve Women's Problems

"...When you raise young children, when you are a housewife in crowded city living conditions, when you go out to look for a job, you will find the cards are stacked against you and any approach that in your marriage it's going to be 50-50 is wishful thinking.

"The solutions are social--they lie in better working conditions for men as well as women, an end to job discrimination; a tremendous increase in good-quality, cheap commercial services; a better school and child care system--and, to make all this possible, peace and brotherhood, an end to exploitation. In short, socialism."

The Worker,
October 14, 1956, p. 11.

XII. YOUTH

1. The rise in juvenile delinquency can be traced to the fact that our society is "geared to violence and destruction."
2. The youth of the entire world wants peace.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Juvenile Delinquency

"... Juvenile violence has reached alarming proportions."

"Who are the heroes of our youth? ... Their hero wears an uniform and carries a gun. He is a military man, and he reaches his ultimate heroic proportion in the person, preferably, of a marine sergeant, the tougher the better.

"Our thirteen-year-old is ... reading comic books, 'confidential' magazines and the more lurid pocket books. His hero is drawn for him over and over again, in the comic books, in the movies, on television. His hero is tough, brutal and sadistic. His brutality includes women. His hero is quick on the draw, quick with his fists, and he triumphantly tramples over anyone who may stand between him and his immediate desire."

"... There is a connection between the society that condones lynching and the boy with the gun, which thoughtful adults must begin to challenge.

"The boy with the gun is more than the product of his home, his parents or his city. He is a Frankenstein created by the Cult of Violence; he is not the creation of his individual parents who bore him in love and who are trying to cope with a situation which is, indeed, bigger than both.

"John Foster Dulles, Joe McCarthy, Senator Eastland--these are the kind of men who shaped the Cult of Violence. Dulles, threatening to blow up the world with an atom-bomb; McCarthy, the self-appointed policeman of men's minds; Eastland, whose state exonerated the lynchers of Emmet Till--these are among the ones from whom we must demand an accounting.

"It is time we faced the fact that parents love their children. But we must also recognize that love alone does not always triumph in a society geared to violence and destruction. The capitalist press did very little objecting when a high ranking Army officer proclaimed, 'We must raise a generation of killers.'

"What is happening to our children is the bitter fruit of this philosophy, and until we have the courage to place the blame squarely where it belongs, to demand an accounting from those responsible, and a change in the whole policy of government, we must be prepared--love notwithstanding--to surrender our children to the Cult of Violence and to nourish and foster the boy with the gun."

The Worker,
October 28, 1956, pp. 11, 14.

2. World Youth Wants Peace

"DOWN AT MELBOURNE, Australia, the best young men and women athletes of 76 countries are running, jumping, rowing, cycling, boxing, and playing various games against each other in the world's supreme test of athletic skills. The competition for the Gold Medals and for the unofficial points for the nations is spirited but friendly. The best performers win, the losers congratulate the winners with a smile, the fans cheer lustily for both."

"The Olympic Games, of course, do not solve any of the international crises. Yet they do demonstrate in unmistakable fashion the important truth that the young people of the world and of every country in the

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world earnestly want peace and friendship! We would bet that a poll of the Olympic Village would find 99 percent or more in favor of an immediate convening of the heads of the Big Four to discuss directly and sensibly the settling of all points of dispute in the world.

"So hail to the Olympics, that carnival of friendly competitive co-existence....may the spirit of the Olympics become the spirit of a peaceful future world."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 28, 1956, p. 5.